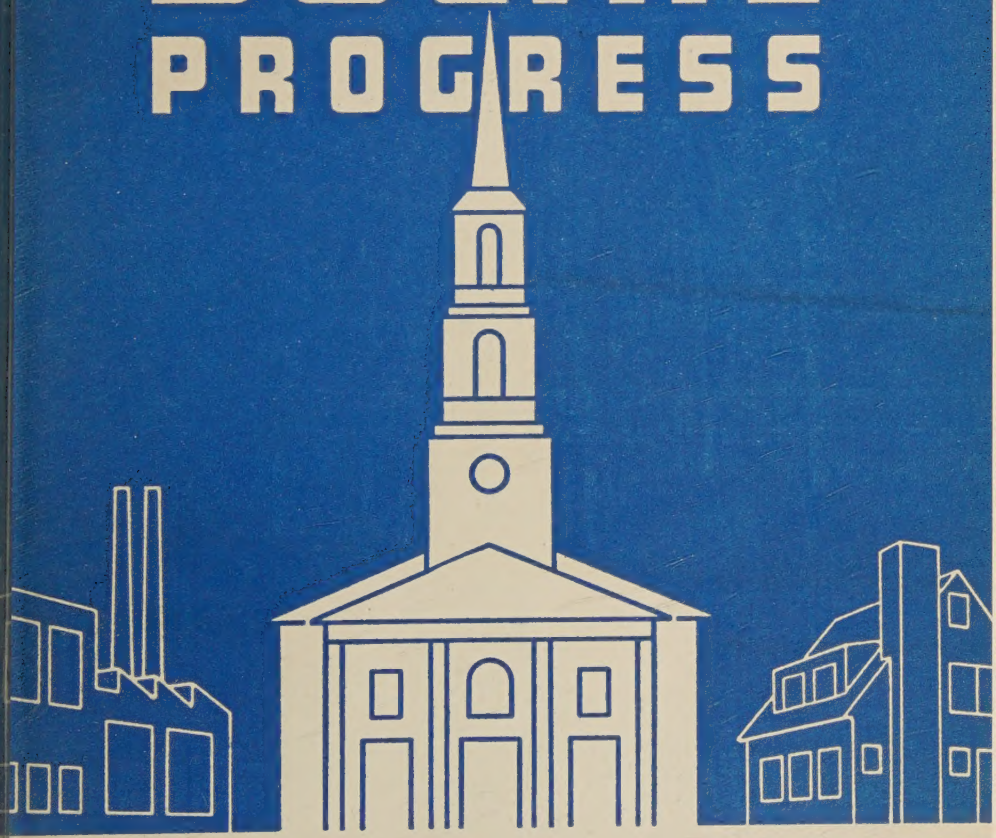
SOCIAL PROGRESS



We Cannot Escape History
The Son of the Unknown Soldier
America's Liquor Bill—1943

JANUARY 1944

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Social Progress

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXIV JANUARY, 1944 No. 5

We Cannot Escape History

By Arnold H. Lowe *

WE CHRISTIANS are finding ourselves in an unenviable dilemma. We have a Gospel of redeeming love and power, and yet the world does not believe us. A fire has been kindled in this world, and the winds of human passion are fanning it into ghastly shapes. Fearing that everything about us may end in disaster, we plead and preach this Gospel with renewed zeal. But few believe us. We speak of God, but few heed us. We speak of Christ, but the world is deaf to our pleading. We speak of war and the sin that breeds it, but the world does no more than lift a cynical eyebrow. If ever the world needed Christ and his Gospel, if ever it needed his healing touch and his guiding hand, it is now. Why, then, does the world not believe us?

Let us give three answers to these questions, and let us put them bluntly. The world does not care greatly for Christ because we have not cared greatly. Christianity has always had its enemies, but none—even the most formidable—have been able to work so much harm as those who have been indifferent. What stirs some of us to uneasiness is the prevalence of this indifference today. Do we not know that the highway over which every wrong travels to success is man's indifference? Indifference is our Achilles' heel. It is the most vulnerable spot in our Christian armor. Wrong of every imaginable description takes advantage of this our great weakness. New thoughts are on the wing; new ideas are marching to conquest. And the highway over which these ruthless ideas march is our indifference.

How blind indifference can make us! How it can plunge our usual common sense into stupor! How myopic it can make us, so that we fail

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to see the fearful possibilities of tomorrow! If this world is going to pieces, if racial strife should grip our nation, if industrial warfare should shatter our foundations, if immorality should cast its blight upon our youth, it will be because these evils have marched over the highway of our indifference.

Let us now state the second answer: We are afraid of the moral implications of the teachings of Jesus. The problem with which Jesus confronts men is a moral one. Whatever some may say, the issue in Christianity is never primarily intellectual; it is never economic; it is never political. It is deeper. The issue in Jesus is primarily moral. But here is our tragedy: there is in the hearts of many of us no courage for such a high moral adventure.

Well, men have always left Jesus because they were afraid to accept the moral implications of his being. Oh, yes, men have been quite willing to follow Jesus when no more was asked of them than to sing hymns, or to mumble prayers, or to reveal some inexpensive piousness. Yes, men would be willing to follow Jesus today, if only he would condone some of the things they do, think, say. Men would gladly accept Jesus, if he were willing to fit himself into the narrow pattern of their living.

But, sooner or later, we must see another Jesus altogether—not inoffensive, but scrutinizing our lives, disturbing our consciences, censoring our actions. Well, that's the only Christ there is—one who scrutinizes our deeds, censors our actions; who will not let us alone and will not let us go. That's the only Christ there is—one who enthrones himself in the hearts of men, or will not come at all; one who will take command of men, or will not come near them; one who asks of men that they take him all, or not at all. I say that is the only Christ and the only issue. It is deep, and it is everlastingly moral. And sooner or later men have to face this issue and this Christ. Is this the sort of Christ we want?

We know the answer. We are afraid. This is the monotonous and timeworn testimony of history. Men are afraid of Jesus. In every great crisis, man, standing at the crossroad, has had an opportunity to lead society to moral, political, and economic redemption. He has not done it. He has not done it because he would not take Christ with him, and without him he could not do it. This is the testimony of all history. Men have said of Jesus that his teaching is not practical, that it is not relevant, that it is not scientifically warrantable. Men who thus spoke were rationalizing a fear gnawing at their hearts. Therefore, they turned the other way and walked without Jesus.

Indeed, we are afraid today. If this fear of Jesus does not reveal itself consciously, it is nevertheless articulate and unmistakable. What are we afraid of in Jesus? His re-

vealing words bringing God out of the shadows into the light of men's understanding? His sheer physical and moral courage? His unfailing redeeming affection? Of course not! What we fear in Jesus is that his presence in our lives will impose upon us a self-discipline we do not desire. We fear hearing his voice: "If thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out. . . . If thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off." Some of us would rather live in moral mediocrity than discipline ourselves. This is not only true of men and women; it is true of nations. We would rather be morally mediocre than get rid of the things that keep God out of our lives.

Yes, this we fear in Jesus: that his presence in our lives might release within us our latent capacities for goodness. This is a terrible thing to say. We fear that his presence might release within us our latent capacities for goodness. We are afraid that Christ's realism might bring to fruit within us all of our native gifts.

Few of us are as bad as we seem to be. There is a better side to all of us. There is a better world than we have fashioned. But we really do not want the kind of world we are always talking about, else we would have it. We really do not want the kind of earth men are continually writing about, else we would have it. We have within ourselves the capacity to make our homes lovely. Obviously that is not what we want. We have within ourselves the capacity to live with others as brothers, sharing our benefits, each forgiving the other his weaknesses, building a Kingdom. But deep down in our hearts that is not the kind of world we want. We know that if Christ ever, ever touches us, that is the kind of world we will have. That is what we fear.

We come, then, to the third answer: We despair of an ultimate solution of our great social problems. But in order to face the problems of our day, which seemingly defy every solution, we need to be strengthened in our resolve to do our immediate duty. When we contemplate the enormity of these problems that confront us today, our faith and courage falter. They seem to be beyond our strength. They are too vexing and too complex.

How, for example, are we ever to have enduring peace? As one looks at the matter realistically, one is beset by great discouragement. Peace constitutes a problem that involves our political philosophies, our physical relationships, our economic necessities, our instinctive prejudices, all our human passions, and our traditional beliefs. It is a matter of past history and present geography. No wonder that thousands beyond thousands, realizing the enormity of the problem, say it cannot be done.

Or, consider this matter of race. It is indeed frightening in its impli-

cations. Every effort that man has made to find a feasible solution has thus far come to naught. Wherever different races have lived side by side, there have been basic antagonisms. It is not a question of right or wrong; nor is it a matter of wisdom or folly. It is a matter of pride and self-respect. It is a matter of racial uniqueness and rivalry, of deep attraction and antipathy.

Called upon to solve such gigantic problems, we well-nigh despair. But is not one of the reasons for our despair our insistence to look only toward an ultimate solution?

If only we could resolve life's great complexities to simple principles! If only we could turn from ultimate solutions, which still defy us, to simple and immediate duties! Surely we can take the first step.

In matters of war and peace the ultimate solution is far beyond us, but the immediate duty is clear: in our relationships with other nations to seek to employ the basic rules of sanity. The ultimate solution in all matters of racial friction is far in the future, but the immediate duty is with us now. We can treat others not of our own skin and race with decency and justice. It is in the doing of these near-at-hand duties that we may set our feet upon the road that leads to a brighter day.

We cannot be indifferent! Apathy means destruction! We must live beyond our fears and put our hands to the dangerous task. We dare not despair. We cannot drift. Now, in our day, we need to say what Abraham Lincoln said in another day of tribulation: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. . . . We shall nobly save, or meanly lose the last best hope of earth."

We Believe

We Believe that . . . a very heavy responsibility devolves upon the United States. . . . If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept the responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity.

We Believe that, as Christian citizens, we must seek to translate our beliefs into practical realities and to create a public opinion which will insure that the United States shall play its full and essential part in the creation of a moral way of international living.

—*From the findings of the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, 1942.*

Russia and the Western Democracies

From Information Service *

THE caption chosen reflects the disparity between Soviet Russia and the democratic nations. There is nothing to be gained by blurring the fact that the former, as actually conducted, is a dictatorship. On the other hand, to let the matter rest there, as many do, obscures important relevant facts concerning the Soviet experiment.

The Governmental Structure

The Constitution of 1936 is very liberal. There is universal suffrage for everyone over eighteen except criminals and lunatics. In practice the Constitution suffers some dilution, but it is held to as an ideal.

But the Communist Party is still the only party in Russia. All high political and economic executives, as well as most of the higher military officers, must be Party members by "unwritten law." Only about 1.5 per cent of the population are Party members or candidates, according to W. H. Chamberlin.[1]

The question arises—and cannot be presently answered—how much the Constitution will mean if and when conditions giving rise to its arbitrary interpretation or suspension are removed. Patiently, the regime is, in terms of political controls, the reverse of what the word democracy means to us. "Politically," says Maurice Hindus, "all nationalities and all groups are ruled by Moscow. No national leader is ever tolerated if he ignores or subverts the edicts and policies of the Kremlin. The dictatorship is universal and far-reaching. Rarely does it forgive sins. Never does it hesitate to inflict capital punishment for what it regards as capital sins." [2] Yet this is not equivalent to saying that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian state in the ultimate implication of that word. A dictatorship is totalitarian to the extent that it attempts to subordinate all culture patterns to a central political purpose and control. The Soviet dictatorship is more accurately called a dictatorship *on behalf of* the proletariat than a dictatorship *of* the proletariat. In theory, at least, it is a regulatory instrument whose task is liquidating capitalism, and with it the political state itself.

Harry F. Ward, who has written extensively in defense of the Soviet Union makes much of this negative attitude toward the political state. "A totalitarian state," he writes, "is

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* *Information Service.* Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Condensed with permission.

[1] Chamberlin, W. H., *The Russian Enigma,* pp. 152, 153.

[2] "The Meaning of Russia's Nationalism," by Maurice Hindus. New York, Asia, September, 1943, p. 519.

one which proclaims the state to be the be-all and end-all of human existence. The Soviet view is the opposite. It holds that the state, even the workers' state, is by nature repressive and therefore evil, and expects it to gradually disappear as the people learn to govern themselves."[3] Communism in its theoretically ultimate form would presumably have clearly recognizable democratic features. That is to say, the eradication of special privilege and the exaltation of the common man are, so far forth, by definition democratic.

What Type of Democracy?

But democracy has developed in the Western world as a concomitant of the free-enterprise system. It is an aspect of political liberalism. Between democracy as we have it and what the Communists call "Soviet democracy" there is, therefore, a wide gulf.

However unwilling we may be to have the word "democratic" applied to anything in the Soviet Union, the concept of democracy is evidently an ingredient in the Russian ideal. Mr. Willkie has given a striking illustration of this. In the conversation with a factory superintendent, Willkie retorted, somewhat impatiently, he says, to a long disquisition on Marxist theory, "Then actually you've got no freedom." To which the man replied: "Mr. Willkie, you don't understand. I've had more freedom than my father and grandfather ever had. They were peasants. They were never allowed to read or write. They were slaves to the soil. When they sickened, there were no doctors or hospitals for them. I am the first man in the long chain of my ancestors who has had the opportunity to educate himself, to advance himself—to amount to anything. And that for me is freedom. It may not seem freedom to you, but, remember, we are in the developing stage of our system. Someday we'll have political freedom too." It is characteristic of Mr. Willkie's frank report of his observations that this bit is set down.

This statement is not historically accurate, since many peasants rose to prominence in the old regime. But it may perhaps be taken as typical of the Russian Communist conception of democracy, at its first level, as progressive improvement in status of the common man.

The record of the Soviet Union in dealing with minority groups is profoundly impressive. The astonishing military achievement of the nation evidences a degree of morale which seems to rest on a widespread conviction on the part of the masses that they are coming into their own. The terror of Stalin's blood purge, which outside Russia was taken as evidence of imminent disintegration of the regime, and the long-continued minor terror of the military police,

[3] "Understanding the Soviet Union," by Harry F Ward. New York, *Social Questions Bulletin*, April, 1943.

the people seem to have taken in their stride. Can so ruthless a dictatorship ever liquidate itself? Time alone will tell. Yet the dialectic of history as Communism conceives it will take care of the dictatorship when it has served its purpose.

Over against the political dictatorship must be put the process that goes on in the local soviets, where a large measure of planning takes place and where a high degree of personal discipline—the lack of which we so much deplore in our own democratic life—is attained.

One thing seems clear. The conventional liberal argument against the Russian regime has been that however praiseworthy its ultimate ends might be it is condemned by its systematic use of violence, and its assumption that violence is inevitable in the transfer of power.

But at a time when America and Great Britain are engaged in an all-out war to save democracy, the argument from means to ends requires restatement. The Christian defense of the war is strikingly similar to the Communist defense of the method of violence. We say that war cannot result directly in democracy, nor in any substantive good but that it can remove obstacles that must be removed and can be removed in no other way. This is the Communist theory of the class struggle. For from the Communist point of view the real, the continuous, war is that between the classes, and it is prosecuted as a means to social welfare.

Pertinent here is the statement of Father John La Farge, that Communism, unlike Nazism, offers "goods" which Christianity offers, but that Christianity can deliver those goods and Communism cannot. Such a judgment can be rendered without the imputation of evil motive either to an individual Communist or to a Communist government.

The Religious Issue

This brings us to the specifically religious phase of our subject. Stalin is quoted as saying in reply to a question about religion: "I am still an atheist, but the situation may change." It is probably safe to say that the Communist attitude toward religion as such has not changed, but that with its constant concern for the significance of the historical situation, the Party sees the tremendous value of religious faith in terms of endurance and discipline. On the other hand, the official policy toward the Church has profoundly changed, as reflected in overt acts. The *International Christian Press and Information Service*, Geneva, reported in May, 1942, a series of these acts, basing its account on an article in the Anglican monthly *Christendom*. The author traced the change in policy back as far as 1936, indicating that it is by no means a result of the war. The list includes restoration of civil rights to the

(Continued on page 28)

The Son of the Unknown Soldier

I am the Son of the Unknown Soldier!
Do you remember him?
With unanimous voice you proclaimed my father
"the Hero of Heroes."
You buried him in the most honored place at
the Nation's heart.
With solemn ceremony, calling Almighty God
to witness,
You pledged to him the faith of America.
Each year through the lips of the President
you renewed that pledge.
You renewed—but did you redeem it?

I am the Son of the Unknown Soldier!
I never saw my father.
My father never saw me.
But I know why my father died.
He died because he loved America.
I loved it too.
But he died for more than that.
He died because he loved me—
That was the greater part of the America he
loved—
Its future; my future.
He died for an America at peace,
Living in brotherhood with Nations at peace.

I am the Son of the Unknown Soldier!
But I am more than that.
I am already the Unknown Soldier of this war.
A sniper got me in the African desert.
A shell got me on Bataan.
My plane crashed over Berlin.
My ship was torpedoed on the way to Murmansk.

I am dead—dead—dead!
Do you understand, America?
I am the Unknown Soldier!

I have a right to speak to you, America.
My father gave me that right,
And I have earned it for myself.
I have a right to speak and you must listen.
In the hour in which I died my son was born.
I never saw that son and on this earth he never will see me.
No, America—before you bury me with great acclaim and solemn pledge
That which I want to know is this:

Will you redeem this pledge?
Will you consolidate this victory?
I am the price of your broken promise to my father.
I am your victim on the altar of Isolation.
What will my son's fate be?
Must he become the Unknown Soldier of another war?
Or will you have done with Isolation
And cast your strength for Brotherhood and Peace?
The peace for which my father died,
The peace for which I have died,
The peace for which, please God, my son may live.
America—what is your answer?

*Robert W. Searle**

* General Secretary, The Greater New York Federation of Churches, Inc. Reprinted from *The Swarthmorean*, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1943.

America's Liquor Bill—1943

By Elsie G. Rodgers *

AT THE end of the second year of America's participation in the war, the question of liquor remains one of the most pressing and controversial issues in the public mind. Even to name the many aspects of so complex a problem is beyond the scope of an article such as this. It is our purpose, rather, to submit certain facts and figures, from reliable sources, in relation to certain items in the liquor bill paid by the American people in 1943; statements which tell their own story.

Liquor Consumption Grows

The final figures of the United States Internal Revenue Department for the fiscal year July 1, 1942, to June 30, 1943, show consumption of all types of alcoholic beverages, as indicated by tax paid withdrawals, totalling 2,367,736,196 gallons, an increase in consumption of 10.6 percent over that of 1942. This amounts to a per capita consumption of 17.9 gallons, a notable increase over 16.01 gallons in 1942 and 14.07 gallons in 1941.

The quantities of liquor consumed can be better understood, perhaps, if we remember that this total consumption is a quantity equal to 17.9 gallons for every man, woman, and child of our 132,000,000 population, or 59 gallons annually for each of the 40,000,000 actual users of alcoholic beverages,—27,000,000 men and 13,000,000 women,—in our population, as estimated by Professors Haggard and Jellinek of the Department of Applied Physiology of Yale University.[1]

Or, again we may think of 6,500,000 gallons of hard liquor, wines and beer poured daily through some 565,000 retail outlets or nearly 200 gallons passing through each outlet in every 24 hours.

As always, to the record of legal liquor consumed, millions of gallons of illicit liquors must be added. There are, of course, no accurate figures but according to the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol "estimates run from 20 to 50 percent of all distilled spirits consumed" and "in 1940, Federal authorities confiscated more than 10,000 illicit stills."[2]

As is well known, the entire production facilities of distilleries throughout the country were converted by government order in

* Associate Director, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

[1] Quoted in a special report of the Department of Mental Health, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as reported by *Alcholfax*, November, 1943.

[2] "The Nature of Alcoholic Beverages and the Extent of Their Use"—Lay Supplement, Number 2, Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1942.

October, 1942, to the production of alcohol for war purposes. In spite of the heavy draft on the liquor reserves then on hand, government figures indicate a reserve on June 30, 1943, of 439,519,392 gallons of all distilled liquors. On October 31, this inventory had shrunk to 412,620,184 gallons including 399,023,881 gallons of whiskey. According to a statement made by the Distilled Spirits Institute, Inc., widely advertised in the public press, this whiskey reserve was further depleted through "soakage and evaporation" to a net stock of 303,000,000 gallons, insufficient, they claim, to meet the demands for whiskey currently estimated by distillers themselves in the statement to be at the rate of 90 to 100 million gallons annually!

America Must Pay

What are the terms of the liquor bill that America must pay for the use of liquor? The money cost is important and, as we shall discover, it is a huge sum! But the cost in human life and personality is more important. As taxpayers and as members of a closely knit community, all of us must share the costs and the responsibility. What is our liability?

Economic Facts

According to government reports, based on tax paid withdrawals of hard liquor, wine, and beer for consumption at estimated retail sales prices for the fiscal year 1942-1943, the American people spent $4,125,000,000 for liquors. If to this we add 25 percent to cover the cost of illicit liquors, the annual bill becomes more than $5,000,000,000.

This is a conservative estimate in the face of rising liquor taxes announced as this article is written and which, according to O.P.A. regulations, may be added to the ceiling prices for distilled liquors established in March, 1942. But to this must also be added a sum more difficult to compute—the hidden or indirect costs of liquor in terms of policing, hospitals, jails and other requirements for public services created by the liquor situation. These costs have been variously estimated,—another $5,000,000,000 being considered as conservative.

The extent of such costs is suggested in more exact outline in a report on "Alcoholism a Social, Psychiatric and State Problem," discussed at a joint meeting of the Virginia Conference of Social Work and the Mental Hygiene Society of Virginia in April, 1943, and typical of conditions in many states. According to this report, during the eight years that the Alcohol Beverage Control Board has been in existence in Virginia, the consumption of legal alcoholic beverages has increased from 9,648,636 gallons in 1935, to 36,195,644 gallons in 1942, an increase of 275 percent, the largest gain having been made in 1941

and 1942, wartime years. The cost of liquor consumed in 1942 is estimated in the report at $75,913,596, which is 2½ times the cost of liquor in 1935. This sum, the report shows, is $10,000,000, in excess of the total spent in Virginia for all education, welfare, health and religious purposes combined as shown by official state budget figures and conservative estimates of county, local and church expenditures.[2]

To offset such statements it is customary for the liquor traffic, government representatives and civilian supporters of the liquor traffic to emphasize the importance of alcohol as a source of government revenue. At the close of the statement by the Distilled Spirits Institute already quoted, the following claim is made: "We know of no other industry in America which has devoted its production facilities 100 percent to war work . . . is accounting for over $1,000,000,000 in federal and state taxes annually . . . and, at the same time is filling some portion of the current demands of its customers." The truth of the statement as to taxes may be readily admitted since federal revenue from the liquor traffic totalled $1,423,646,456.44 in the fiscal year 1943 and to this must be added the state and local taxes which, in 1942, were estimated at approximately $505,000,000. This sum, great as it is, is small, however, when considered in relation to the actual retail price of liquor and the incalculable liquor created costs already referred to. It must be remembered, also, that in the final analysis the people pay the taxes as well as all other liquor costs.

[2] Reported in the Anti-Saloon League of America Research Service, October, 1943.

Health

Mental disease continues to increase. The Virginia report, already referred to, states that approximately 600 men and women are admitted to Virginia state mental hospitals annually for alcoholic psychosis or inebriacy and 200 as heavy drinkers; and that approximately 30 percent of all admissions to state hospitals have a frank alcoholic psychosis or are problem drinkers. Alcohol has been the direct cause, the report states, for the admission of 8,000 men and women to Virginia state hospitals during the past 25 years.

Venereal disease and liquor are inseparable in the opinion of Dr. Haven Emerson, public health authority, who says: "How can we reconcile our gradually increasing program of sex education, personal hygiene, and avoidance of preventable communicable disease, with our implied or actual indifference to the use of alcoholic beverages. These are responsible for more syphilis and gonorrhea in the youth of both sexes whose sober good intentions are to avoid extra-marital sex exposure, than any other one cause. Alcohol

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One Hundred Years of Co-operation

By J. Henry Carpenter *

ONE hundred years ago, in 1844, in Rochdale, England, twenty-eight weavers' families opened the first successful retail co-operative store. Today, in 1944, one hundred million families in forty countries are members of the consumer, marketing, and credit co-ops that are bringing a better standard of living and a real stake in democracy to nearly one quarter of the people of the world.

The first store was started in a dim basement of a warehouse on Toad Lane. Today co-operators own one of the largest flour mills in the world at Buffalo, the Luma electric light bulb factory in Sweden, oil wells and modern cracking plants in Kansas and Saskatchewan, thousands of co-operative farms in Mexico, and 1,600 industrial co-operatives in China. The British co-operatives own their own ships that ply the oceans and have their own plantations in faraway lands, while Kansas co-operators have traded in oil and greases with Estonia and other countries.

Vast commerce between the Scandinavian countries and England or America has been stopped temporarily by the war, but, we predict, it will be one of the first exchanges to be reopened with the coming of the peace. South America, Africa, and Asia are developing the movement as they follow the lead of Europe and America from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to the far reaches of Western Canada or Southern California. This is not just the flight of imagination. It can be verified with statistics and facts. Yes, more, I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, the people, the noise of the machinery in factory or farm, the sales to customers in store or warehouse, in every one of these countries and situations mentioned.

Those twenty-eight Rochdale weavers, with no steady employment and living in dire poverty, started a movement that many feel is destined to prove to be the democratic way, the Christian way, to a co-operative world economy and enduring peace. These unschooled weavers had no idea that they were starting such a potentially significant venture when they opened those rough wooden doors of that gloomy store on Toad Lane.

But, though unlettered, these men had been trained by the hard knocks of life. They had keen insight into the very reasons for their own plight and that of their neighbors. They

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understood the ravages of buying on credit with the resulting indebtedness and usury demanded. They saw the merchant grow wealthy and live at ease in the very face of their own poverty and starvation. They comprehended dishonest sales and weights or untrue advertising. These men were "canny" and they were also truly Christian.

Those poor weavers, after long discussion and serious pondering over various ideas, finally set down certain principles. These were so fundamental that they have not been changed, added to, or subtracted from in these hundred years. Where these principles have been followed there has been almost invariable success even as it came to those early pioneers. Deviation from these principles invariably has brought failure. The principles are:

1. Democratic control—one member, one vote.
2. Membership in a co-operative open to all regardless of race, color, or creed.
3. Fixed rate of interest on capital.
4. Profits returned to the members through patronage dividends.
5. Goods sold for cash at market prices.
6. Co-operatives neutral in race, religion, and politics.
7. Members educated constantly.

Thus the co-operatives do a cash business; deliver the most goods of the best quality for the money; have pure democracy in management—the individual votes and not his money; never enter into speculation in stock—it is always salable at par and carries a fixed rate of interest; have never taken sides in racial, religious, or political controversy; have at all times educated themselves and their children and have saved their own money to gain economic freedom and rights. There is no other movement that is so clearly based on individual participation and responsibility or that is more truly democratic. It is the very antithesis of Communism or Fascism. In Russia, Germany, or Italy, and as they took over the other conquered countries, co-operatives were wiped out as such and all their freedom was taken away from them. Dictators could not countenance such a free, democratic institution controlled by the people within a dictatorial state.

In Nova Scotia the miners and the steel workers were suffering from conditions of low wages, company housing and stores, and the resulting poverty and ill health. They accepted extreme Communism as the way out. They destroyed property; they set fire to cities; they raised the red flag over the Town Hall in Glace Bay. It took state militia to quell them and restore order. Yet, a little priest taught them the co-operative way. Today they are saving their own money (the last record that I had stated that it was over one million dollars put into their own credit unions in quarters, fifty-cent

pieces, and dollars); they are running their own stores; they are building their own houses; they are rejoining their Churches. The Catholics and Protestants, priests and ministers co-operate with their lay members and have virtually revitalized Nova Scotia. Communism and all its destruction has gone. Co-operation and building in the lives and minds of the people, as well as actual material gains, have resulted.

In Mexico two years ago I saw former peons who had been slaves to their Spanish overlords for over 300 years suddenly given their freedom. There they were running their own co-operative farms and stores, building their own schools and hospitals, having education and medicine for the first time in their long history of serfdom—all carried on because of their co-operation.

In China last winter I saw refugees, all but starved and hopeless, given loans of a few dollars and then joining together in a weaving or canvas-making co-operative, or a machine shop or soap factory. These people were rehabilitated. They were earning their own money. Here also they were developing education and co-operative medicine. They had their own central treasuries and in their total united financing were even defying inflation. They produced in one year 750,000 blankets for the Chinese army and 250 other kinds of articles and necessary supplies for the Chinese Republic. They were not only finding their way out as refugees: they were producing in the hour of China's greatest need.

In India I saw Sikhs, Mohammedans, Hindus, and Jains of every caste co-operating to save their land from the ravages of mountain floods, to secure better housing or sanitation in their villages, to combine their small scattered farm lands into consolidated holdings, to buy to meet their own needs or to sell their produce. Whole communities in that country of such great problems have found new hope and freedom through the co-operative movement.

In America the co-operative movement is spreading north and south, east and west. The farmers of the Middle West, the city dwellers on the seaboard, and people everywhere are finding a new way of doing business.

In England, according to the Co-operative League News Service, the Research Department of the Co-operative Union, the British consumer co-operative societies reported in 1942 their greatest volume of business in spite of wartime shortages and restrictions on trade.

Retail trade of the co-ops moved forward more than sixty-eight million dollars during the year to reach a record total of $1,277,793,924. This was an increase of 5.69 per cent over the previous year and, as the report points out, "as against the position in 1941 this high cash figure of 1942 indicates a real increase in

(Continued on page 25)

For Tim

The Inner Discipline of Service

January is the beginning of a new calendar year and the middle of the Church year. What lies ahead can best be understood in terms of the growing unity among the Big Four of the United Nations—the great fact in today's world. That unity is in essence not a military necessity, for it came into being after the military crisis of the war had passed. It points, rather, to conditions related, but subsequent to, the defeat of the Axis.

This diplomatic unity of purpose looking toward an international organization is supported by the Senate, whose Connally Resolution, echoing the Moscow Four Power Declaration, declares: "Resolved, . . . That the United States . . . join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority."

Through their treaty-ratifying body, the American people, therefore, stand before the world with their faces pointing toward the horizon where the sun of international co-operation is on the rise.

All this is good. It is a cause for rejoicing and deep thanksgiving to Almighty God. But unless this agreement is sustained by inner purpose and commitment of the people, it will be as a scrap of paper turned into bitter ashes. International communiques and Congressional resolutions are really a demand for an assumption of moral responsibility by each one of us. They are an order to be drawn upon the moral capital of each one of us so united as to give spiritual dynamic and worthy purpose to our national policies.

While communiques and resolutions come out of the world's capitals, spiritual purpose and understanding come out of men's hearts, which is but another way of saying that the Christian Church must bring men and women and youth under the inner discipline of loyalty and service to Christ. Any people with indifference toward religion or with enthusiasm toward a tribal religion—whether the "tribe" be nation, class, or race—will transmute any Big Four statement and official pronouncement into emptiness.

Are We Spiritually Callous?

Death and destruction are unescapable facts of life in wartime, and death in the armed forces is accepted as of military necessity. But in this acceptance or resignation there lies an all but inevitable callousness of spirit toward human life, and against this the Christian must contend, with God's help, unceasingly. But has such acceptance no limit? And is

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not such a limit reached when *civilians* are involved? Three instances come to mind as test cases: There is a famine in India, caused chiefly by the fact that the war has cut India off from its granary supply in other areas of Asia. The part of India most affected is that which the United Nations will have to use in the thrust against Japan under Lord Mountbatten. Among these people, our own allies, an Associated Press report states, 100,000 are dying weekly in Bengal alone. Whatever is done to forestall continued inroads upon the civilians of India is dependent upon the integrity of the United Nations.

Recent bombings over Germany have wrought vast destruction of military objectives, a necessary end in war. But they have resulted likewise in an unprecedented loss of *civilian* life. *The New York Times*, on November 28, began an account of this phase of the bombings with these words: "In terms of quick and violent death among civilians, the world has never known anything to equal the Allies' air attacks on German cities, according to The Associated Press. Few, if any, peacetime earthquakes, floods, fires, or explosions have brought a loss of life comparable to that piled up by a single block-buster attack on such often-bombed cities as Berlin, Hamburg, etc." With what ease of spirit do we "write off" this picture of *civilian* death!

For years we have known the ravages to childhood in the occupied countries through starvation and disease. Except in the case of Greece, nothing has been done by the United Nations—and here that means Great Britain and the United States—to help salvage something of Europe's next generation, the children of our own allies. The General Assembly in May, 1943, recognized this situation, expressing in the report of its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action "its encouragement to those agencies, public and private, which are now seeking ways and means, under the necessary safeguards for the military situation, whereby the millions of starving people may be fed."

The Senate has before it Resolution 100, which directs the State Department "as quickly as possible to work out . . . the setting up of systematic and definite relief for all stricken and hungry countries where the need is now most acute" with such safeguards that "no military advantage whatever may accrue to the civilian populations or armed forces of the invading nations." There is cause for rejoicing that the needs of stricken peoples have been thus officially recognized. Spiritually sensitive Christian people will give full support to the resolution and the implementation of it.

Civilian Army

Ours is a civilian army. After the war, except for a minority, officers and men will return to civilian life there to join with other citizens to decide the course of democracy at home and the contribution of our nation to world order. We shall face that challenge together, needing one another, depending upon one another.

This civilian army needs help now to know and to understand the moral issues that underlie what they are fighting for, the practice of democracy at home, and the things that will make for the winning of the peace. In this connection it is gratifying to know that Church leaders are seeing in SOCIAL PROGRESS a source of help. A V-mail request from a chaplain in North Africa for 25 copies per month was recently received. A Church in New York gave as its Christmas gift to each of its 150 men in uniform a subscription to this magazine. From a Church in California has come an order for subscriptions to each of its men in uniform. Such subscriptions are an investment in the postwar world for those who have most at stake in claiming it for something other than a travesty of democracy and recurrent war.

National Lottery

The Presbyterian General Assembly, in May, 1943, declared "its vigorous opposition to the Joint Resolution in the Congress of the United States (H. R. Res. 55) providing for the raising of a part of the Government's revenues through the sale of lottery tickets by the United States Treasury, with certain money prizes to the winners, the true character of these tickets being camouflaged under the patriotic designation: 'War Participation Certificates,' or any similar effort toward raising money for the Government by lottery or other devices invoking the element of chance whether openly or disguised" and called "upon all Churches and Church groups to make known their disapproval of this joint resolution to their Senators and Representatives."

On December 1, Bill S-1560 was introduced in the Senate by Senator Joseph F. Guffey, authorizing a national lottery. Speaking of the Bill Senator Guffey claimed that it would provide a "painless method" for putting five billion dollars of additional funds into the federal treasury, thereby greatly reducing the heavy tax burden. Senator Guffey and other proponents of the measure contend, further, that billions of dollars are spent annually on foreign lottery tickets and that a national lottery would divert these funds to America's war effort.

Christian citizens should express their opposition to this national lottery by addressing their comments to the Senate Finance Committee, to whom Senator Guffey requested that the bill be referred.

America's Liquor Bill—1943

(Continued from page 12)

use and prostitution are inseparable and self-dependent as commercial partners over the world. *Alcohol is the best procurer known.*" [3]

This opinion is confirmed in the following reports:

At a hearing before the Special Committee of the House District Committee in May, 1943, on vice conditions in wartime Washington, testimony was given by many officials and social workers. Police Superintendent Edward J. Kelly requested an amendment to the District of Columbia prostitution law to authorize police to enter night clubs and restaurants to pick up prostitute suspects.

The Florida Legislature enacted a wartime curfew on liquor sales effective June 5, 1943, as part of the venereal disease control program, closing all bars from midnight to 7 a.m., and package stores from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. on week days.

The New York State Liquor Authority, at its meeting on June 16, 1943, revoked, suspended or cancelled five restaurant licenses because the licensees had permitted solicitation of patrons for immoral purposes and the practice of prostitution on the premises.

Crime

Arrests for drunkenness, according to the F.B.I. report on liquor offenses for 1942, rose from 831.1 per 100,000 of the population in 1932 to 2,077.6 in 1942, an increase of 150 percent, and the highest since repeal. Arrests for driving while drunk also show an increase in 1942 of 97.2 percent over 1932. Of 585,988 fingerprint records examined in 1942, 70,353 (12 percent) represented women. The record indicates an increase of 11.6 percent increase in the number of men and 3.8 percent increase in the number of women arrested for drunkenness in 1942 over 1941.

Liquor-caused crime accounts for 90 percent of the commitments for misdemeanors and 50 percent of the penal crimes in the State of Massachusetts, according to a detailed study in that state by Judge Joseph Zalotti of the Boston Municipal Court and quoted by him in an address at Quincy, Massachusetts, in March, 1942.

Motor vehicle accidents in 1942, due to "had been drinking" drivers and pedestrians increased in spite of wartime restrictions which cut down the use of automobiles by 17 percent. *Accident Facts*, issued by the National Safety Council, 1943, states that: One out of every five fatal accidents during 1942 involved a "had been drinking" driver or pedestrian. One out of every nine drivers and one in every five adult pedestrians involved in fatal accidents had been drinking. Motor vehicle accidents caused 28,000 deaths, 1,000,000 non-fatal injuries, 80,000 permanent, and 900,000 temporary disabilities. Property damage, cost of injuries and insurance are estimated at $1,600,000,000. Twenty percent of motor vehicle accidents involved liquor.

What Says the Church?

This startling record confronts the Church. The liquor traffic is making the most of its position as a public servant in war production. It is building up a reputation as a contributor to the general welfare. It is preparing for the future.

Are Christians equally alive to the situation? Can the Church match the program of the liquor traffic with an equally clear-sighted reading of the situation from the Christian point of view; with a realistic facing of the problems created by it; with a practical program of action?

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[3] Haven Emerson, Professor of Public Health Administration, Columbia University, at the Yale School of Alcohol Studies on August 4, 1943.

Human Welfare—First Postwar Concern

By Vera Micheles Dean *

THE wave of strikes in Britain, the news about underground movements that filters in from conquered countries, and many other straws in the wind indicate that, below the surface of the war, changes are germinating that are bound to affect the postwar period—what the anti-Fascist writer Ignazio Silone has described as "the seed beneath the snow." These changes are not primarily concerned with the reshuffling of frontiers, the reorganization of colonial administration, or the redistribution of raw materials. They reach far deeper—into the inner hopes and fears of the men and women without whose support the war cannot be won, and the peace can be lost.

It is essential to understand the human factor in peace planning, because most postwar planners have a disturbing way of concocting disembodied schemes in which nothing, or hardly anything, is said about the human beings who would presumably be needed to make blueprinted machinery function. Throughout the centuries, war makers and peacemakers have shown a striking disregard for the feelings and needs of the people whose destiny they undertake to settle. At national rallies and international gatherings much is said about mankind, but very little about man. Nor does the current preoccupation with "the common man" markedly alter this situation, since the assumption is almost invariably made that it will be for the few "uncommon" leaders to shape his fate.

Yet it is because the so-called common man—who has no political or economic influence over his country's policy except such as he can exercise by his vote in countries where votes are counted—is deeply perplexed about the future that the feeling of change is in the air. If all that were necessary to stabilize the world were a decisive military victory on the part of the United Nations, the task would be relatively simple. But it is already clear that the closer we draw to victory the greater will be the problems of adjustment we shall face, within nations as well as between nations.

There is no indication as yet that these adjustments are motivated, in Britain or the conquered countries, by a pronounced predilection for revolution, or by widespread attachment to Communist ideas. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence that renascent nationalism tends to mute political differences, rallying all groups, including Communists, in

* Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York, New York. Reprinted, with permission, from the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, October 1, 1943.

a national effort for liberation and recovery. If an upheaval inspired by extreme radicals were impending, it would be natural, if not necessarily desirable, for the Allies to be on guard against far-reaching changes that might cap war devastation with postwar anarchy. But the more the Allies display understanding and sympathy for the desire for moderate change that is burgeoning on the Continent, the more likely it is that the kind of revolution they fear may be avoided.

This, however, is only the negative aspect of the picture. The positive aspect is that the Allies, for their own self-protection after the war, must nurture those forces in Europe that seek to improve and strengthen institutions that proved inadequate to meet the Nazi onslaught. It was by trying to break the spirit of man, by trying to destroy the inner values that make the individual something more than mere flesh and blood, that the Nazis hoped to conquer Europe and the world. It is only by restoring the unassailability of the human spirit, by reaffirming the worth and integrity of the individual, that the United Nations can win ultimate victory in a war that has assumed the proportions of a legendary struggle between good and evil. And this time the peacemakers have an unrivaled opportunity to demonstrate that the individual, who found no security against terrorism and death within the national state, may find it, in fact will have to find it if he is to survive, in nations integrated into the larger framework of international society.

But the security of the individual cannot be measured only in terms of freedom to hold and to practice religious beliefs or to cast a vote at given intervals. It must also be measured in terms of the opportunity he has to exist with some degree of self-respect by working at a useful task for which he receives enough to maintain a decent livelihood for himself and his family, or, as the British call it, the "Four Decencies" of housing, food, clothing, and education.

It is the fear that another period of economic depression and personal frustration may succeed the war that casts its shadow over Britain and other countries resisting the Axis.

To say that the readjustments necessary to dispel this fear may prove unduly costly, or technically impossible, is no longer an adequate answer. Men and women who have found themselves urgently wanted in war will not easily accept being unwanted in peace. At this point, if it is reached, a revolt may take place. But it will be a revolt that could have been avoided, and a revolt for, not against, the kind of postwar order for which the United Nations aver they are fighting.

Church Enlistment for World Order

For some months contributors to the World Order Round Table have outlined the purpose, program, and method of the Christian World Order Mission and the study and action that it was intended to initiate. Concluding this series five ministers report the plans and programs through which Churches in different sections of the country are promoting the World Order Emphasis.

World Order Begins at Home

In the United States with many races, creeds, and nationalities we have, close by, most of the problems of human relations that plague our international society. Unless we can solve these at home, we believe, we shall bungle the larger issues of world peace.

We are attempting, therefore, in the First Church of Oklahoma City, to think through our relationship as Christians to the various minority groups that are part of our society. There is little use talking about freedom for India unless we see the relation of that problem to race riots in America. There isn't much point in talking about a new world order in which Asiatics shall take their places as equals in a new world unless we can deal realistically with our Oriental immigration laws. There is not much sense in condemning German persecution of the Jews unless we succeed in America in dealing with our anti-Semitism and creating a spirit of brotherhood.

It seems clear to us that several practical steps toward world brotherhood can be taken by the local Church in almost any community.

1. Cultivation by individual Church members of friendships among the racial and national groups within the community.
2. Attempts to discover sources of friction between minority and majority groups and to find ways of creating understanding.
3. Resolution to stand against discrimination, which breeds bitterness and resentment.

We shall have a deeper insight into the practical problems of the peace table if we have faced the issues personally in our own communities.

Harold Blake Walker

Adult Education for Tomorrow's World

How are Christians to approach postwar problems? The session of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago felt that the Church had a responsibility to help its people to answer this question. The result was an eight-week School of Adult Education in which the five adult classes of the Church School united. Two hundred or more people met each Sunday morning at 9:30 to share in a worship service and to hear the presentation of some topic relevant to the theme "The Church Faces the Postwar World."

"The Church Seeks a Just and Durable Peace" was the first theme presented by Dr. Georgia Harkness, a member of the Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. The other subjects, each one presented by an outstanding authority, were "The Preparation of Our Minds for Tomorrow's World," "Problems of Sovereignty," "Problems of World Organization," "Problems of Minorities," "The Economic Bases of a Just and Durable Peace," "Freedom of Speech," and "Faith for the World of Tomorrow." Each speaker was given forty minutes; then twenty minutes were devoted to questions and discussion.

The attendance and enthusiasm have indicated the value of the project. There has been a request for another school in the spring, dealing with related problems. The overcoming of ignorance and prejudice and the bringing of light and action will be the permanent worth of the undertaking.

Harold Leonard Bowman

The Church Must Lead

The World Order program of Grace Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota, included:

World Order Sunday on November 7, observed with a sermon on the theme "The Church Must Lead in Winning the Peace." Four major responsibilities of the Church were presented as follows:

1. The Church must keep constantly before our citizens and the nation the moral principles that underlie a just and stable peace.
2. The Church must seek to make its membership more intelligent on world political issues in the light of Christian ideals and objectives.
3. The Church must call its members to deeper interest in political action, and members must throw their influence behind those men and movements that seek to organize the world on moral, ethical, and religious principles.
4. The Church must bring individuals to submit their lives more completely to the will of God, that they may have the faith, courage, and willingness to sacrifice that will be needed for the long and arduous job. The moral purpose of building the Kingdom of God will make us willing to pay whatever price peace may demand.

The Men's Club held a meeting on the theme "Pearl Harbor Doctrine" as a first step in American foreign policy. This doctrine, which has been advertised by full-page ads in several issues of the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, is: "When any nation, anywhere in the world, openly proclaims the theory that might makes right and makes vast military preparations against fictitious foes, or attacks its neighbors and embarks upon a career of conquest, such action is a threat to our 'Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness' and to the sovereignty of the people of the United States. We stand ready, therefore, to support a rule of international law co-operatively backed by adequate force."

The Women's Association is to have a World Order program in January, using an experienced panel of five women from various Churches in the community.

The Young People plan to have three discussions on "Winning the Peace," using the Society Kit, during the month of December.

The Business and Professional Young Women will have a World Order discussion in January.

Pulpit messages on the World Order theme are planned for February and for Memorial Sunday. Members of our Church were urged to attend the meetings of the Christian Mission on World Order on November 9, and the World Community Day Services for women on November 11.

A Model Peace Conference is planned, and the minister is serving on the committee. Members of the Church will be urged to take part in that and other community-wide discussions, and literature on World Order will be sent to all those on our mailing lists. Thus we plan to reach those who may not attend the meetings.

Morris C. Robinson

Thinking Today for the World of Tomorrow

Hillsboro Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tennessee, had already used *A Just and Durable Peace** for study by youth and adult groups. But there was the feeling that the question had not "caught on" as it should. Accordingly, the Church joined with neighboring Belmont Methodist Church for a series of four Community Forums.

To arrest attention and give color to the discussions, the Four Freedoms were selected as the basis of discussion. A businessman and member of the Regional War Labor Board was secured to speak on "Freedom from Want: Economic Understandings and Rights." "Freedom from Fear: Political Understandings and Rights" was assigned to a social anthropologist from the near-by university center. A former college president, now secretary of the Department of Institutions of the General Board of the Methodist Church, spoke on "Freedom of Speech and Expression: Social Understandings and Rights," giving particular attention to the matter of academic freedom. The whole series was brought to a climax with an address by an Episcopal bishop on "Freedom of Religion: Religious Understandings and Rights."

The Forums were held on four succeeding Sunday evenings, two in each Church. The joint committee of the two Churches publicized the meetings by public announcement and telephone calls. Notices were run in the Church calendars. The newspapers published the entire news stories furnished them. A dignified and attractive four-page folder announcement of topics, speakers, discussion leaders, and "suggested services" to aid discussion was printed and widely distributed.

Some pointers the Committee on Preparation would pass on to anyone else interested in a similar venture would be: Get "name" speakers, but, more important, be sure that they know something about the subject assigned to them. Start with your second strongest speaker, and end with your strongest. Don't worry about a "name" to conduct the forum, but get a skilled chairman. He can make or break the session. Capitalize on current phraseology and thought forms, i.e., "The Four Freedoms." People have a better idea of what you are driving at and give a readier response. Finally, provide some action program to follow.

The one criticism of the series was: "After it was all over we didn't do anything! It looks as if we could at least have taken a collection!" And that from one of the Presbyterian participants!

Charles H. S. Houk.

World Order Mission Follow-Up

The First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon, will begin with the first Sunday of the new year a series of six Sunday evening studies of the problems and possibilities of A Just and Durable Peace, and the steps necessary to that end. Competent leaders will present, for discussion, the economic, political, military, and religious aspects of the theme. The panel, forum, and lecture will be used to promote understanding and discussion, and wide reading of pertinent material will be encouraged by the display of books and literature. The Mission on World Order, recently in this city, has given a strong impetus to this project.

Paul S. Wright

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* *A Just and Durable Peace*, the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

One Hundred Years of Co-operation

(Continued from page 15)

volume sales, for between 1941 and 1942 there was practically no change in the official cost of living." The report concludes, "This surely must be acknowledged as a remarkable achievement when it is remembered that limitation of supplies reacted more severely than ever on retail trade in general."

In every section of Great Britain membership increases were reported. The total membership now stands at 8,924,868, an increase of 151,613 new members. This is the highest increase since the war began. The increases in 1940 and 1941 were 73,661 and 56,361 respectively. Commenting on these increases the Co-operative Union reports that "while the figures in 1940 and 1941 indicated the manner in which the confidence and loyalty of members were retained in the most difficult circumstances, the 1942 figures indicate the growth of that confidence and loyalty in a relatively better trading period."

One of the outstanding facts revealed in the report is the constant growth of investment by co-op members in their co-operatives. During the year covered by the survey the average share capital per member increased $5.48 bringing the average investment of co-op members in their own businesses to $80.44.

The following is a summation of a recent statement about co-operatives in the United States by Wallace J. Campbell, associate secretary of the Co-op League.

Today, the consumer co-operative movement in America is a $750,000,000 business with two and a half million owners. Co-operation has become both a way of business and a way of life. In 1942 one sixth of all the farm supplies in America, $448,000,000 worth, were purchased through co-operatives.

Co-operative insurance is an important price and service "yardstick" for the insurance industry. One co-op, the Farm Bureau Co-operative Insurance Services, born in 1926, provides auto, fire, and life insurance to half a million farm and city members, and its premium income for 1942 was over thirteen million dollars.

The first gas and oil co-op was organized twenty years ago. Last year two thousand co-ops handled over one hundred million dollars' worth of petroleum products. Co-op oil refineries, co-op pipe lines, co-op transports, co-op bulk plants and service stations—all owned by co-op members.

Seven hundred rural electric co-ops are carrying electric light and power to nearly a million farms. A dozen co-op health associations make it possible for several thousand people to budget their medical care. Forty co-operative burial associations bury their members for half price. On 160 campuses student co-operatives have helped thousands of students cut the costs of education. Ten thousand co-operative credit unions with three and a half million members and $350,000,000 in assets have helped to drive out loan sharks and demonstrated that the people can do their own banking.

What more need be said? The story of Toad Lane is neither a fable nor a parable. It is a realistic story from the lives of practical men. It is more important in 1944 than it was in 1844, for a hundred years of experience has made co-operation the most practical thing on earth.

Yet, there is one thing more that should be said. Are you, are all of us, going to do something about it? Young people's societies or other study groups in the Church can make the co-operative movement a basis of study and action. Ministers can preach about it. Conferences or camp groups can both study and practice it. Let us all work together in this one-hundredth anniversary year to put "the most practical thing on earth"—the spirit of brotherhood and co-operation that Jesus talked about—into practice.

Sanctuary

The New Year, 1944 *

Meditation:

In the beginning God . . .

And God created man in his own image. . . . male and female created he them. And God blessed them. . . .

And Jehovah said . . . . Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward and southward and eastward and westward. *Gen. 1: 1, 27, 28; 13: 14.*

Now . . . from the place where we are. This is the only way to make a new beginning. And, after all, what difference does it make how the world began, how ideas got under way *unless we too can make a new beginning?* The ancients left us a great heritage. Our own forefathers left us a stalwart tradition of dreams and achievement. Frequently we do not realize how very much they willed to us. But we have to claim our heritage. We seldom ask enough of God and still more seldom do we draw on the depths of our own resources. "Raise your eyes now," the Lord said; "look from the place where you are."

"Widen our minds, we pray thee, O Lord, to take in more of thy world: more of its beauty, more of its joy, more of its burdens, more of its possibilities, more of its responsibilities. Stretch our hearts so that we can love more of our neighbors, more of our countrymen, more of those who differ from us in color and custom. Strengthen our will, our free creative will, so that our longings may become our actions and our devotion may truly draw us nearer to thee. Amen." [1]

Prayer of Invocation:

God, who hast set us in this time
Of storm and wreck and tears,
Be near, be near, that we may bear
The burden of the years.

God, who hast set us in this land
Of daybreak, dust, and fire,
Be near, that what we do may match
The splendor we desire.

God, who hast placed us where the roads
Divide, the ages part,
Be near, that no low fear betray
The high dreams of the heart.

And we, whom Thou hast made free men,
For self or service, free,
May in the hour of judgment choose
Not mastery, but Thee!

Hermann Hagedorn. [2]

Praise and Thanksgiving:

It is meet that we should praise the Lord of all, that we should ascribe greatness to Him who formed the world from the beginning.

* Materials and suggestions for worship are here offered for the use of ministers and leaders of Church groups in planning services of worship at the opening of the year.

[1] From *Every Day a Prayer*, by Margueritte Harmon Bro. Willett, Clark & Co., pages 1, 2, 3, 9. Used with permission.

[2] In *Christianity and Crisis*, October 4, 1943.

We worship before the King of the kings of kings that stretcheth out the heavens and layeth the foundation of the earth.
The seat of His glory is in the heavens above, and the abode of His strength is in the far-off heights.
He is our God and there is none besides, truly our King and there is none but He.
Therefore we hope in Thee, O Lord our God, that we may speedily see the glory of Thy might.

From the Alenu Prayer, First Century[1] B.C.

Prayers of Confession and Intercession:

O Lord, we beseech thee mercifully to hear our prayers, and spare all those who confess their sins unto thee; that they whose consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful pardon may be absolved.

O Thou, who searchest the hearts of men: Look with mercy upon our sins, especially our sins against the truth; forgive them and help us to walk this day in the light. Deliver us from timid silence; give us courage to speak the truth with love; and save us in thought, word, and deed from the perils of self-deception.

O God, who hast called our nation to a place of trust and responsibility throughout the world; we would not seek to hide from thee anything that has been evil in our history, or whatever makes us still unworthy to be called a Christian people. Forgive thy servants for that the greatest hindrances to the advancement of thy Kingdom have been found in Christendom itself. We ask it for his sake who wept over the faithless city of his people; even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[3]

Hymn of Decision: "God of Grace and God of Glory."[4]

God of grace and God of glory,
On Thy people pour Thy power;
Crown Thine ancient Church's story;
Bring her bud to glorious flower.
Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage,
For the facing of this hour.

Lo! the hosts of evil round us
Scorn Thy Christ, assail His ways!
Fears and doubts too long have bound us,
Free our hearts to work and praise.
Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage,
For the living of these days.

Cure Thy children's warring madness,
Bend our pride to Thy control;
Shame our wanton, selfish gladness,
Rich in things and poor in soul.
Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage,
Lest we miss Thy Kingdom's goal.

Set our feet on lofty places;
Gird our lives that they may be
Armored with all Christlike graces
In the fight to set men free.
Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage,
That we fail not man nor Thee!

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[3] From *Prayers for Private Devotions in Wartime*, by Dean Willard L. Sperry. Harper & Brothers. Used with permission.

[4] The words of this hymn, set to the Welsh hymn melody "Cwm Rhondda," are found in Hymn 236 of *The Hymnal for Youth*, The Westminster Press, 1941. The tune is found also in Hymn 104 of *The Hymnal* (1933).

Russia and the Western Democracies

(Continued from page 7)

clergy, together with the abolition of the test of the Army and Civil Service which penalized Church members. One hundred fifty Roman priests who are Soviet citizens have been released from prison. Polish regiments in the Army are permitted the services of Roman Catholic chaplains and it is tacitly understood that no objection will be raised to service by Orthodox clergy to soldiers of their flock.

A very important item is the revision of school manuals with omission of the former scurrilous attacks on religion; it is accompanied by the suppression of blasphemous plays and films and the removal from the broadcasting staff of Dimitrov, a notorious and truculent atheist, according to this account. The phrase "the role of religion" has reappeared in Soviet newspapers, and the vast publishing project of the Godless Union has been suspended.

The seven-day week with a universal Sunday rest day has replaced the six-day week with a rotating free day. There has been a relaxation of labor disciplinary laws enabling country districts to observe the great religious festivals.

As to religious liberty, what has been permitted up to the present time is worship within the Churches. There is no freedom of religious propaganda, that is, efforts to convert, or religious teaching to persons under 18 in groups larger than three. Religious teaching in the schools is prohibited and religious schools have not been allowed.

But there is abundant evidence that a great renewal of religious fervor is taking place among the Russian people, and the enthusiastic report of his visit to Russia by the Archbishop of York has been widely publicized.

POSTWAR RELATIONSHIPS

We come finally to the problem of international relationships after the war. Admittedly the U.S.S.R. is an "enigma." Only probabilities can be indicated. Respect for the integrity of each nation in its international affairs would seem to be basic. Whatever change may occur in the application of Communist doctrine may occur by way of adjustment to the "historical situation" for which its devotees have so much respect. Capitalist nations have little ground for expecting an abandonment of the collectivist principle. Here is where they will have to be realistic.

It must be remembered that Russia will have an initial advantage over capitalist countries in that she can import machinery, reparations in kind and in labor from Germany—if she demands them and can make the demand stick in the settlement—without having to placate private enterprise and privately controlled labor unions.

The boundary question will be a grievous matter. Here there is much reason to believe that Russia will insist on holding her new "Soviet land"—the Baltic States—and the eastern part of Poland. European hegemony seems to be in her grasp. Yet Stalin has committed himself to a "liberalization" principle and to respect for national sovereignties. There would seem to be a fair chance of reviving "collective security," on which the Soviet Union was thoroughly disillusioned by the events leading up to the war. Recent developments are in that pattern, but a wholehearted commitment to it by the other powers will obviously be necessary if Russia is to recover faith in it.

Stalin is an inveterate realist, and it is safe to say that the surest ground of continued peaceable collaboration is the recognition of mutual national interests, which are very extensive. But this can only take place in a framework of mutual respect for national integrity.

About Books

Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time, by Harold J. Laski. Viking. $3.50.

Professor Laski thinks that capitalism as we know it is doomed, and that a transfer of the instruments of production from private to public ownership is inevitable. He argues that the change will be a boon to humanity and in particular will enlarge the range of real freedom for the individual. The only question is whether the owners of property and power will permit the change to be made intelligently by democratic forces or, by their obtuseness, selfishness, and fear prolong the process through revolutionary and counter-revolutionary stages.

With this as his thesis, the author surveys the world situation, giving special attention to Russia, Germany, and the democracies.

He regards the Russian revolution, whose crimes he explains but in no way condones, as the first stage of a world movement.

His essential position may be seen from the following two quotations from pages 372 and 384:

"Here, as I think, is the ultimate weakness of the social system which is drawing to its close. By building itself around the idea of acquisition, it degraded the dignity of human nature in the masses; and by the very fact of that degradation it separated its successful men from its unsuccessful by the abyss of fear. It knew no way of bridging that abyss save charity, and its rulers were always uneasily conscious that charity which, in a just society, could be one of the most gracious of the virtues, in an acquisitive society bore all the marks of that ransom which injustice pays to fear.

"I have argued in this book that if the change is to be made with the highest prospect of success the present is the most appropriate time. I have suggested that this is so because the impact of the war has created a mood in which there is widespread readiness to accept great change. But I have pointed out that, on all historic experience, this mood is very unlikely to last beyond the war, that, accordingly, to attempt it when there is no longer the exaltation of spirit provoked by profound danger is to miss the favourable moment for action."

If anyone is looking for a cogent and brilliant argument for a greater socialization of society, here is one place to find it.

M. Willard Lampe

Asia Unbound, by Sydney Greenbie. Appleton-Century. $3.00.

This is a discussion of the Four Freedoms in relation to the people of Asia. The early chapters consider each country of Asia briefly, but the bulk of the book is given to a discussion of the Four Freedoms. All of this is most helpful in carrying the average reader far along in his knowledge and feeling for Asia.

The author has woven together a great many threads. He draws upon history, using it in a manner and to an extent that makes it a valuable background. He is concerned with Asia in terms of its people among whom he has lived and traveled. He brings to his writing sympathetic and intimate insights into the life of the people who make up the untold millions of Asia's population.

Mr. Greenbie has a realistic view of the relationships between these millions and their Western governors. He sees them as having been exploited, and yet he is deeply understanding of the complexity of the total situation. He is forward-looking in his view of the direction along which progress may be made. He is definitely committed to a new day for Asia, but at the

same time sees rightly that this can and must be brought about in a way that is constructive to the welfare of all.

C.P.H.

My Native Land, by Louis Adamic. Harpers. $3.75.

Will you have absorbing story, authentic journalism, concise history, or intriguing prophecy? *My Native Land* contains compelling, beautifully written stories of human interest; complex and difficult chapters of historic background; terrifying accounts of inhuman Nazi occupation with the "technique of depopulation"; and a faith-filled section entitled "The Future Is Now." It is a good book and thought-provoking from any angle.

One discovers a lingering quality about the stories. "Love in Slovenia" or "A Dying Guerrilla's Testament" are unforgettable. The compound of beauty and restraint produce powerful writing. The puzzling currents and crosscurrents of history make the background difficult for the average reader. Nazi occupation, with its cruelty and inhumanity, has come to be a consistently brutal story of intimidation and demoralization. Mr. Adamic expresses his hope for the future as "the basic universal will of most of humanity toward an orderly peaceful world with a chance to bring about progress."

There are a number of items about the book which will stimulate discussion. Is General Mikhailovitch a hoax? Has the government-in-exile helped to sustain this myth? Has it all been publicity perpetrated by "specially interested British agents" part of a reactionary "clique"? And what about federation? For the Balkans is that term synonymous with "sovietization"? These are controversial questions that the thoughtful reader will continue to ponder.

Mr. Adamic believes with Lincoln that "reconstruction is more difficult and a more dangerous task than either construction or destruction," but he believes also in the future that is trying to get hold of itself in the face of an impossible present. The implications and the trends of this book go far beyond the bounds of the Balkans. Here are important elements of the whole world crisis at this time with awakening, disturbing, perplexing ideas, insights, and prophecies. But perhaps it is a good thing to be waked up—even if it is uncomfortable!

EVELYN LUCHS

Under Cover, by John Roy Carlson. Dutton. $3.50.

This is the story of those within this nation who would bend American life into Fascist ways and thinking. John Roy Carlson pretended to be one of them, joined their organizations, gained the confidence of their leaders, and had access to their hidden files and plans. His book is a reporting job of those experiences in which actual conversations are given and individuals and organizations named.

The term "fellow traveler" has come into vogue carrying a leftist twist, but this book tells of rightist fellow travelers. It describes the central movements, such as the Christian Front and Silver Shirts. It tells of their leaders—Father Coughlin, William Dudley Pelly, and others—and it has much to say of their followers, ranging all the way from crackpots to sincere misguided believers. While much is told about the Bund and individuals of German extraction, the truly disturbing aspect of this book is in what it shows us of those who are Americans in all of the outward trappings. They were born here and some of them come from long and honorable American lineage. They have come up through our educational system, some of them to occupy places of high favor in social and political life.

To be subversive is to be divisive. These people and these organizations are anti-Negro,-Jew,-labor. They have become sour on American democracy. They see in hatred a definite weapon for their pur-

poses. Through the arts of demagoguery upon public platforms, and in the use of innuendo, quietly practiced, they work in and out among our minds.

A reading of this book will help us to interpret and understand the meaning and significance of individuals and movements against which many Americans need to be warned.

C.P.H.

The War Against God, edited by Carl Carmer. Henry Holt. $2.75.

Carmer's book is a demonstration of the claim that the Nazis and the Japanese are conducting an actual war against God. Over against statements made in various places by enemy leaders—statements in which they reject Christianity, Christian ideals and virtues, and the Christian God—he sets the testimony of great leaders and simple people who will not acknowledge that Hitler is the new Christ or that Hirohito is in any sense the Son of Heaven.

The War Against God is fascinating reading, becoming intensely dramatic at times. Of particular interest is Kressman Taylor's story of one sermon preached in a German Church by the son of the pastor, who had been done to death by the Nazis.

The impact of such a book should be terrific, pointing as it does to this one deep truth about the war that has not had the attention it deserves.

The book makes an issue of pacifism, as it would have to do if it is to be realistic today. To the author's statement the religious pacifist will give thoughtful attention, but he will have his answer. Indeed, his answer is recognized and acknowledged, but not accepted.

PAUL MCFARLIN

The Principles of Christian Ethics, by Albert C. Knudson. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $2.75.

The distinguished dean emeritus of Boston University School of Theology has given us in this latest volume from his prolific pen the most complete and elaborate of his treatises in the general field of systematic theology. The book is full of ripened wisdom and could only be the product of one who had spent a life of study on the general subject.

Although the book is divided into five parts, the basic differentiation of the content is twofold. First is the academic division, dealing with the general scope, history, presuppositions, and concepts of the field. In this section there is not much original material. It is a recapitulation and summary of what one may find in any college textbook on the subject. The second division, however, is practical. It demonstrates in a splendid fashion the original interpretation and creative thought that has won world renown for Dean Knudson. His application of Christian principles to the individual, the family, the State, the Church, and the economic order is refreshing and stimulating. An excellent bibliography completes the book.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

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Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

Cry Havoc—with Margaret Sullavan, Ann Sothern, Joan Blondell. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) This film version of Allan Kenward's play deals with the friendships and feuds, the fears and united strength of a group of trained and volunteer nurses stationed in a dugout base hospital near Manila during the siege of Bataan. It is a study of the emotional reactions of these women to each other and to successive tragedies that climax in the final hopeless realization that the enemy advance has isolated them from all hope of rescue. The skillful acting and excellent characterizations of the carefully chosen cast, entirely of women, make of this tragic story a powerful and impressive film. Good direction, fine photography, and well-chosen music add to the excellence of the picture. **Mature.**

Northern Pursuit—with Errol Flynn, Julie Bishop, Helmut Dantine. (Warner Bros.) The story of a Northwest Mountie sent on a mission in the Arctic. The Nazis have landed from a German submarine and are headed for a German hide-out where a bomber is ready to be assembled for the destruction of Canadian waterways. The Nazi officer, the only one to survive an avalanche, is taken prisoner. The Mountie, who speaks German fluently, pretends to be a German sympathizer and offers to act as guide. The officer accepts, but, being suspicious, takes the Mountie's fiancée along as hostage. Good skiing shots, the episodes of the submarine coming up through the ice, and the take-off in the bomber add interest and excitement. **Family.**

The Battle of Russia—produced by the U. S. War Department, issued by the O.W.I. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) This is the second picture of the United States Army orientation series "Why We Fight" to be shown to the general public. Through a well-edited compilation of material from official Soviet film, from newsreels, Signal Corps film, and captured enemy film, it furnishes a vivid, sometimes terrible, record of the heroic Russian fight against Hitler's armies, from the time of the Nazi attack in 1941 to the great Russian victory at Stalingrad. A brief account of other invasions that Russia has repulsed and a review of the immediate background of the present struggle serve as an introduction. Supplemented by clear, objective commentary, by Disney maps and animated charts of the strategy used, the film is a graphic history of the Russian people in their fight against Germany. **Family.**

His Butler's Sister—with Deanna Durbin, Franchot Tone, Pat O'Brien. (Universal.) A rather uninspired title for a gay and pleasant picture that calls itself a fable of day before yesterday—those lavish times when rationing was not even a threat. It is a Cinderella tale of a girl with a voice from Centerville, Indiana, and of the good fortune that, of course, follows. Arriving in New York in search of a career, she discovers that her brother is the butler for a rich Park Avenue composer. There is excellent and varied music as a natural part of the story. The film is full of cheerful romantic sentiment and amusement and likable people. **Family.**

Gangway for Tomorrow—with Margo, John Carradine, Robert Ryan. (R.K.O. Radio.) The driver of a share-a-ride car, taking a group of workers to a defense job, tries to learn something of their histories. This causes the passengers—two girls and three men—to recall the circumstances that led to their present parts in the war effort. Although given more to talk than to action, the film has a good deal of both dramatic and patriotic interest, and is deftly put together. **Mature.**

Hands Across the Border—with Roy Rogers. (Republic.) A musical Western in which not a single bad man shoots or is shot at. A good acting cast, plenty of dancers, pleasant singers with fresh new songs, fine riders, and fast horses, the mood of the film is one of *fiesta* throughout. Our Mexican friends across the border should like it too. **Family.**

Happy Land—with Don Ameche, Frances Dee, Harry Carey. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) The story of a father broken by the loss of his son Rusty in the war. Feeling that the boy died before he had had a chance to live, he finds comfort by going back and reliving the years of the boy's childhood and youth. He realizes then that even in that brief time there had been a rich and worth-while life such as we must keep possible for all boys. An excellent background of small-town life in Iowa gives vividness to this story of ordinary American life which, however, emphasizes only the brighter side with little reference to the problems and complexities of grown-up living. The acting is good and the ending satisfying. **Family.**

Study and Action

For Use with Children

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Understanding Juvenile Delinquency and ***Controlling Juvenile Delinquency: A Community Program.*** Publications 300 and 301, 1943, of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. The first deals with causes, wartime conditions that aggravate delinquency, and measures of prevention and treatment. The second discusses goals for a community program, social controls and services needed, and procedures for action. Order from: United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. *10 cents each.*

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What Price Peace? by John Irwin. A four-week course for young people, dealing with the costs of peace—economic, social, political, and religious. Order from: International Journal of Religious Education, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. October, 1943, issue, *15 cents.*

***The Christian Facing Today's World.** A study of the problems of today and the spiritual resources available to the Christian youth as he confronts them. *25 cents.*

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Mainsprings of World Politics, by Brooks Emeny, and ***America's Foreign Policies,*** by Thomas A. Bailey. Order from Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York, New York. *25 cents each.*

Fundamentals of International Organization—General Statement; Part I, Security and World Organization; Part II, The Economic Organization of Welfare—Fourth Report. Order from: The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York. *Single copy, free.*

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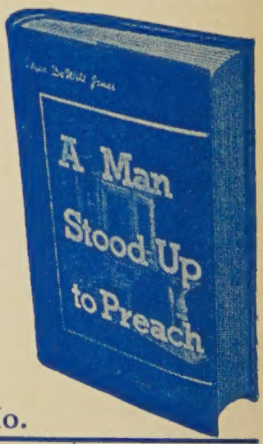

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